MEASURING THE COMPLIANCE COSTS OF EXCISE TAXATION

African Economic Policy Discussion Paper Number 14 December 1998

Jonathan Haughton Suffolk University and Harvard Institute for International Development

Funded by:
United States Agency for International Development
Bureau for Africa
Office of Sustainable Development
Washington, DC 20523-4600

The views and interpretations in this paper are those of the author and not necessarily of the affiliated institutions.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION	1
COMPLIANCE COSTS DEFINED.	2
MEASUREMENT ISSUES	3
ESTIMATING COMPLIANCE COSTS	4
IN SUM	5
APPENDIX	
OTHER EAGER PUBLICATIONS	

ABSTRACT

This short methodological discussion paper defines, and then explains how to measure, the compliance costs of taxation. These are the costs incurred by taxpayers in their efforts to comply with the tax laws. The paper summarizes the categories of compliance costs, discusses some of the conceptual difficulties that arise in measuring these costs, and reviews the main practical approaches to measuring them. The paper includes a questionnaire, jointly developed with Christine Shekidele, which was used in the EAGER excise project to help collect information on the compliance costs of excise taxation in Tanzania.

Jonathan Haughton [jhaughto@sclas.suffolk.edu] is an Assistant Professor of Economics at Suffolk University in Boston and a Faculty Associate at the Harvard Institute for International Development. Dr. Haughton has taught, lectured, consulted, or conducted research in 20 countries on four continents. He has published extensively on taxation, demography, and farm household modeling, and is the coeditor of two forthcoming books on Vietnam. He is the Principal Investigator of the EAGER project study of excise taxation.

Author's Note: Very many thanks are due to Christine Shekidele for putting together most of the original version of the questionnaire that is included in this paper; and to Chun-Yan (George) Kuo for most helpful comments on an earlier draft.

INTRODUCTION

Taxes inflict three main categories of cost on society. Efficiency costs arise when producers and consumers alter their behavior in order to reduce their tax payments. Administrative costs are incurred by the government in designing, applying, assessing, collecting and auditing taxes. And compliance costs are those costs borne by the taxpayer in complying with the tax laws.

Most of the economics literature has focused exclusively on the efficiency costs. Very little has been written about the size and measurement of compliance costs. The most important exception is the research which has been done by Cedric Sandford and his coworkers, culminating in a book entitled *Administrative and Compliance Costs of Taxation* (by Cedric Sandford, Michael Godwin and Peter Hardwick; Fiscal Publications, Bath, 1989), on which this methodological note draws heavily. Their work, and that of others, shows that administration and compliance costs are typically at least as important as efficiency costs, despite their low visibility. Moreover the burden of compliance costs tends to be inequitable, falling more heavily on small firms.

On the other hand, one of the alleged strengths of excise taxes is that they impose very low compliance costs. There is some limited evidence to support this assertion. The data in Table 1 come from the Sandford et al. study (p.168), and show the size of administrative and compliance costs as a percentage of revenue collected, for the main excise taxes in the UK in 1986-87. Administrative costs amounted to 0.25% of revenue, and compliance costs to a further 0.20%, which are low proportions by any standard. Until very recently, no studies of compliance costs had been done in Africa (or in almost any less-developed countries), so little information is know about whether a similar pattern holds in this context.

In this methodological note we

- define compliance costs more fully
- consider some of the practical problems involved in measuring compliance costs, and
- outline a methodology for estimating compliance costs for excise taxes.

A sample questionnaire, suitable for a study of compliance costs, is appended.

Table 1
Administrative and Compliance Costs of Main Excises in UK, 1986-87

Transcriber acce and Comp	Tunimism and Compitance Costs of Main Encises in City 1900 of							
	Administrative Costs	Compliance Costs						
	(as % of ta	x revenue)						
Hydrocarbon oil	0.10	0.23						
Tobacco products	0.08	0.06						
Alcoholic drinks	0.72	0.31						
Overall	0.25	0.20						

Source: Sandford et al., Table 10.3, p.168.

COMPLIANCE COSTS DEFINED

According to Sandford et al., compliance costs are defined as "those costs incurred by taxpayers, or third parties such as businesses, in meeting the requirements laid upon them in complying with a given tax structure" (p.10). For a business these costs include the costs of collecting, remitting and accounting for tax on their products, profits, and employees, along with the cost of acquiring a knowledge of the legal obligations and penalties. The costs fall into three main groups:

- 1. *Money Costs*. These include:
 - a) the "clerical costs," which in turn may be split into two parts:
 - i) employee costs, covering the expense of in-house staff, including managers and clerks dealing with tax collections, assessment and payments; and
 - ii) external costs, which include the fees paid to outside accountants and other advisors regarding tax interpretations, tax compliance, and other relevant matters:
 - b) the time cost of money (i.e. the cost of having to pay tax before receiving payments from sales; for further details, see below);
 - c) the additional costs of insurance, security, etc. to guard goods whose value (to the consumer) has been raised by high excise tax rates; and
 - d) the cost of posting bond (where applicable).
- 2. *Time Costs*. These cover the value of time spent dealing with taxes by the proprietor of a small business; in principle this can be converted into a monetary value.
- 3. *Psychic Costs*. This measures the resentment that a businessperson may feel at having to act as an unpaid tax collector, or at having to deal with tax officials. These costs are hard to measure.

It is worth noting that administrative and compliance costs may be substitutable. For instance, suppose a tax department moves to a system of self-assessment from one where

the tax office computes the tax owed. This reduces the burden on the tax office, so administrative costs fall. On the other hand it increases the burden on the firm, so compliance costs rise. So ideally one should measure the burden of administrative and compliance costs combined.

MEASUREMENT ISSUES

There are a number of practical and conceptual difficulties involved in measuring compliance costs, and they include the following:

How allocate overhead? As a practical matter it may be difficult, or impossible, to measure what proportion of overhead costs (management time, part of the head office costs, etc.) is attributable to dealing with tax issues. Even outside auditors and accountants, who may advise the firm on a variety of matters, including taxation, may not itemize their bills in such a way that allows one to separate the time they spent on tax issues from time spent on other tasks.

How isolate the marginal costs of complying with a given tax? When a firm has to pay several taxes (e.g. sales tax, excise taxes, corporation income tax, PAYE), it may employ a number of specialists simply to deal with tax issues. But frequently it is very difficult to determine how much of this cost is attributable to a given tax. Put another way, it may be almost impossible to measure how much a firm would save if, say, it no longer had to collect any excise taxes.

How value time? It is straightforward to measure the value of time spent on tax issues by outside experts (the fee paid) and by employees (wages or salary plus other obligatory contributions such as health insurance costs). It is more difficult to value the time of the owner of the firm, and particularly difficult to measure time spent on tax questions when the time would otherwise have been spent on leisure.

How handle changing costs over time? The costs of tax compliance are likely to be high when a tax is newly introduced or significantly modified. The commencement costs occur before the tax even begins; they are followed by temporary costs that occur as taxpayers and tax administrators iron out the bugs in the tax and learn how to operate it successfully. Once these learning-curve effects have passed, one is left with the regular costs of the tax, which are the ones we are most concerned to measure.

How measure the time costs of taxes? Suppose a firm pays \$1000 in tax to the government on January 1, but the goods (which we assume are taxable at the time of retail sale) are not sold until April 1. Then the firm has provided a \$1,000 zero-interest loan to the government for three months. This imposes a substantial cost on the firm: if the firm has to pay 16% annually to borrow, then the time cost of the early payment of taxes is about \$40 (= 4% of \$1,000, approximately). The situation is worse for the firm if it sells the goods on April 1, but is not actually paid until 30 days later, although in this case the buyer receives an equivalent benefit so there is no further net cost to the economy in this case.

In the opposite case the firm may pay the tax well after it formally comes due, in which case the government is in effect allowing the firm to use the tax revenue for some weeks, free of interest. It is worth noting that the time cost of paying taxes early is not a net cost to society, because what the firm loses is exactly offset by a gain to the government; it does however affect the distribution of the burden of the tax.

ESTIMATING COMPLIANCE COSTS

Sandford et al. (p.52) note that any of the methods of social research may be used in measuring compliance costs. The methods relevant for studying excise compliance costs include the following:

- Highly structured questionnaires/interview schedules, whether administered by mail, phone, or face to face.
- Semi-structured or unstructured interviews.
- Other types of case study (e.g. studies of the comprehensibility of tax forms).
- Archive research, using records held by government departments, tax advisors, etc.

The response rate for mail questionnaires tends to be low, particularly if the questionnaire is long or elaborate. Face to face interviews are expensive in that they require a lot of time, but they elicit the most reliable information and give the researcher a good "feel" for the issues.

A practical way to proceed is as follows:

- 1. Ask official and other sources about the most important excise taxes, their tax points, tax base, tax rates, and the amount of tax revenue collected. A meeting with a knowledgeable tax official is likely to be useful at this point.
- 2. Once it is clear what the main excise taxes are, identify the most important firms, defined as those that pay a significant amount of excise taxes. This will surely include the main tobacco companies, brewers and distillers, oil refiners, and probably some import firms. The list should be as comprehensive as possible, and cover all the formal sector firms; informal producers, essentially by definition, do not pay taxes.
- 3. Send a questionnaire to all the firms listed in 2 or to a sample (e.g. all the big firms, and a fraction of the small ones) if the number of firms is too large. It may be helpful to telephone the companies first, in order to find out to whom the questionnaire should be sent within the company. Ask for the questionnaire to be completed and returned, but indicate that if necessary you would like to follow up by phone, or with a face to face interview. A sample questionnaire, with a cover letter, is shown in the appendix.
- 4. Follow up the questionnaire by phone or in person within a week or two of sending the questionnaire. Try both to complete the questionnaire and to develop a good sense of the main issues and magnitudes. In the words of Keynes, "it is better to be approximately right than precisely wrong." It is particularly important to talk with

someone from the main companies in the three main areas - petroleum, alcohol, and tobacco. One good interview is worth dozens of questionnaires.

The response rate on mail questionnaires is generally low. For instance George Kuo had a response rate of 20-25% for a survey of tax compliance in Canada. So an alternative approach is to rely entirely on face-to-face interviews from the start; or at least face-to-face interviews with the large firms, and a mail questionnaire with a few follow-up interviews for small firms. In George Kuo's words, this "may give ... a better and robust picture of the compliance costs."

IN SUM

The research will be successful if, by the end, one can answer the following questions about excise taxes with some confidence:

- As a fraction of sales, about how large are compliance costs (for alcohol, tobacco, and petroleum)?
- Do compliance costs fall more heavily on smaller firms, and how large is this effect?
- What could be done to reduce compliance costs (without reducing revenue)?
- If excise taxes were extended to more goods and services, what effect would this have on compliance costs?

Since work of this type is still at the frontier of research, great precision is not expected, although it should be possible to develop a good sense of the magnitudes.

APPENDIX SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

Survey Research Department Harvard Institute for International Development

March 1997

SURVEY OF COSTS TO BUSINESSES OF OPERATING DIRECT TAXES, 1997

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am writing to ask for your help. As part of a larger study of excise taxation, we are trying to understand better the costs faced by companies, such as yours, as they try to comply with the tax laws.

Our hope is that such an understanding will lead to a more rational tax structure and less burdensome procedures. As far as we know, this is the first such study in Africa.

This is an independent study by the IWR, working in cooperation with HIID. Although I have been helped in understanding the tax system by the Ministry of Finance and the Revenue Authority, no information has been given to me about your business, so I will only know what you choose to tell me. Your answers to the following questions will be held *in strict confidence*, and will not be seen by any tax official.

I would be very grateful if you would fill in the questionnaire and return it in the enclosed prepaid envelope as soon as possible.

Thank you in advance for your help and cooperation,

Yours Sincerely

Bigg J. Cheese Head, Tax Department

COMPLIANCE COSTS OF TAXATION QUESTIONNAIRE

In the following questions, the term *excise taxes* should be taken to include any taxes that are levied on a specific good or service, even if they are known by another name. Excise taxes do not include general sales taxes or VAT, or income taxes, or basic taxes on imports or exports.

	is the name of your organization	n?		
What	is your main business activity?			
What	are your main <i>excisable</i> busine	ss activities?		
i)				
ii)				
iii)				
When	was the business first registere	ed for excise taxes?		
		10		
On wh	nat date did your last accounting	year end?		
On wh	nat date did your last accounting Day		Year	
Please		Month) for your
Please	Daye check the appropriate value	Month	sales of goods and services Turnover subject) for your
Please	Daye check the appropriate value ar last accounting year. In millions of Tsh	Month of turnover (i.e. s	sales of goods and services Turnover subject to excise tax	for your
Please	Daye check the appropriate value ar last accounting year. In millions of Tsh Under 1	Month of turnover (i.e. s Total turnover	sales of goods and services Turnover subject to excise tax ð) for your
Please	Day c check the appropriate value relast accounting year. In millions of Tsh Under 1 1.0 - 2.49	Month of turnover (i.e. s Total turnover ð ð	Sales of goods and services Turnover subject to excise tax ð ð	for your
Please	Day c check the appropriate value at last accounting year. In millions of Tsh Under 1 1.0 - 2.49 2.5 - 4.99	Month of turnover (i.e. s Total turnover ð ð ð	Turnover subject to excise tax ð ð ð) for your
Please	Day c check the appropriate value at last accounting year. In millions of Tsh Under 1 1.0 - 2.49 2.5 - 4.99 5.0 - 9.99	Month of turnover (i.e. s Total turnover ð ð ð ð ð	Turnover subject to excise tax ð ð ð ð	for your
Please	Day c check the appropriate value or last accounting year. In millions of Tsh Under 1 1.0 - 2.49 2.5 - 4.99 5.0 - 9.99 10.0 - 19.99	Month of turnover (i.e. s Total turnover ð ð ð	Turnover subject to excise tax ð ð ð ð ð ð	for your
Please	Day	Month of turnover (i.e. s Total turnover	Turnover subject to excise tax ð ð ð ð ð ð ð	for your
Please	Day c check the appropriate value or last accounting year. In millions of Tsh Under 1 1.0 - 2.49 2.5 - 4.99 5.0 - 9.99 10.0 - 19.99	Month of turnover (i.e. s Total turnover ð ð ð ð ð ð	Turnover subject to excise tax ð ð ð ð ð ð) for your

6.	Do you employ an outside ta tax work?	x advisor or an accou	ntant in private pract	ice to help do your excise
	Yes / No If the answer is no, go dire	ectly to question 10.		
7.	From whom do you obtain ta	ax advice? (Please che	eck as appropriate)	
		For excise taxes	For sales taxes	For trade taxes (i.e. import and customs duties)
	Paid tax consultant	ð	ð	ð
	Paid accountant	ð	ð	ð
	Friend/family member	ð	ð	ð
	Other (please describe)	ð	ð	ð
8.	a. How much were vo	u charged for each of	the following types	of work by your advisor(s)
8.	in the last accounting year? breakdown.) Preparation of books of account Work on sales taxes Work on excise taxes (including Work on trade taxes Work on personal and corporati	(Where precise figure t, and audit fee g all specific taxes)	s are not available, j	of work by your advisor(s) please give an approximate ount in Tsh per year
8.	in the last accounting year? breakdown.) Preparation of books of account Work on sales taxes Work on excise taxes (including Work on trade taxes Work on personal and corporati Other tax work (please describe b. How much time did last accounting year? About	(Where precise figure t, and audit fee g all specific taxes) ton income taxes e):	s are not available, p Amo	please give an approximate ount in Tsh per year your tax advisor during the

Please state approximate turnover subject to excise tax: Tsh million:

9. For each	th of the main spe	ecific taxes (e.g	g. excise, etc.) that	you pay, what is th	ne tax point?
	What tax?	1.	2.	3.	4.
What tax point?)				
Retail sale		ð	ð	ð	ð
Wholesale sale		ð	ð	ð	ð
Factory gate		ð	ð	ð	ð
Customs border		ð	ð	ð	ð
Other (please sp	ecity)				
10. For eac	h of the main spe	ecific taxes that	you pay, what is	the base for the tax	?
	What tax?	1.	2.	3.	4.
What tax base?					
Pre-tax value		ð	ð	ð	ð
After-tax value		ð	ð	ð	ð
Volume		ð	ð	ð	ð
Weight		ð	ð	ð	ð
Volume of alcol Other (please sp		ð	ð	ð	ð
11. a. Please	How often do y explain briefly.	you submit exc	cise tax returns?	e.g. end of each m	nonth, quarterly, etc.).
b.	If returns are su			r, do these returns:	
	or the estimated	d amount of tax	due? Yes	/ No	
c.	Who determine	s the amount o	f tax due (e.g. the	firm, a tax agent, e	tc.)?
d. accoun	Is there an annuting year?	ual return, whic	ch makes a final ca	alculation of excise	tax due for the whole
	Yes / No (the	subannual retu	rns are final return	us)	

12a.	firm receives revenue from		_	_					•
	What tax?	1.		2				3.	4.
Lag bet	ween tax payment and sales ks)								
12b.	For the main excises, how leads to the when the tax is actually pain what tax?	d - for the			ere ta				
Lag bet	ween sales and tax payment ks)								
13.	How large are the penalties	for late p	oayme	nt of e	xcise	tax .			
	in law? About Tsh		_ per	week	/ mor	nth /	year f	or every Tsh10	00 late.
	in practice? About Tsh			per w	eek.	/ moi	nth / y	ear for every T	sh1000 late.
14.	Do the excise taxes make a	dequate a	llowar	nce for	losse	es (e.	g. bro	ken bottles, spi	llage, etc.)?
	Yes / No / Not applicable								
	If yes, please explain:								
15. liability	Please complete a separate	box belo	w for	each o	f the	maiı	n form	s used in deterr	nining excise tax
Name o	or title of form:								
you rate the clar the ease the adec	rale of 1 (very good) to 5 (very good) t	lowing di used ons	imensi		3 3 3	4 4 4	<i>pprop</i> 5 5 5 5		g instructions advice not available
Name o	or title of form:								
the clarithe ease the adec the us	rale of 1 (very good) to 5 (very good) t	lowing di used ons	imensi	ions (c 1 2 1 2	_	4	<i>pprop</i> 5 5 5 5	no supportin	g instructions advice not
departm	nent							sought	available

Name or title of form:

On a scale of 1 (very good) to 5 (very poor), how would you rate the tax form, using the following dimensions (circle as appropriate)

		,				· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·
the clarity of the questions	1	2	3	4	5	
the ease with which the form can be used	1	2	3	4	5	
the adequacy of supporting instructions	1	2	3	4	5	no supporting instructions
the usefulness of advice from the tax	1	2	3	4	5	advice not advice not
department						sought available

Name or title of form:

On a scale of 1 (very good) to 5 (very poor), how would

you rate the tax form, using the following dimensions (circle as appropriate)

you rate the tax form, using the following atmensions (circle as appropriate)								
the clarity of the questions	1	2	3	4	5			
the ease with which the form can be used	1	2	3	4	5			
the adequacy of supporting instructions	1	2	3	4	5	no supporting instruction	ons	
the usefulness of advice from the tax	x 1	2	3	4	5	advice not advice	not	
department						sought availa	ble	

Apart from any advice mentioned above, what costs (if any) did you incur in keeping records and complying with excise taxes for excise taxes during the last accounting year?

Cost in Tsh per year

Cost of an in-house bookkeeper
Cost of someone to count output for tax purposes
Cost of tax forms and other materials
Cost of calculators
Cost of computers
Cost of software
Other costs (please describe)

17. a. Did any changes in the provisions or the rules on excise taxes that were introduced over the past two years have a significant effect on the costs of complying with the law?

Yes / No

b. If yes, please describe briefly.

a. super above	visory work related to excise t	g year, what costs (if any) did you taxes, other than discussing with you	
Ente	rking and complying with exci ertaining tax officers er (please describe briefly)	Number of your hours per year se taxes	Cost in Tsh per year
a. or vis	Did your firm provide offi	ce or other accommodation, and/or st accounting year?	regular meals, to resident
	Yes / No		
b.	If yes, please describe brie	efly.	
	oximately how much did you propriate)? In millions of Tsh Under 1 1.0 - 2.49 2.5 - 4.99 5.0 - 9.99 10.0 - 19.99 20.0 - 49.99 50.0 - 99.99	ate total cost (cash and in kind): Tsopay in excise taxes for the last according to the	
	100.0 - 499.99	ð ×	
Pleas	500.0 or more se state approximate excise tax	ð x payment: Tsh million	
	ou own or operate a bonded wa		
	Yes / No		
	e answer is no, go directly to	question 30.	
If the			

23.		onded warehouses the cond in the last acco		approximately how much did you pay in association
	:	for license fees:	Tsh	
	:	for stamp duty:	Tsh	
24.	Approxir	nately how much did	l you have to pay	for the bond in the last accounting year?
				Tsh per year
			import duty	
		to cover to cover	excise duty	
		to cover	sales tax	
25.	a. very high		eparate secured c	ompartment for storage of goods considered to be
	-	Yes / No		
		If yes, please descriunting year.	be the type of go	ods and give an estimate of the turnover during the
		Type of good		Approximate turnover per year, Tsh million
26.		What additional coses and the installation		ou incur in order to ensure security of the bonded checking meters?
		Type of cost		Approximate amount per year, Tsh million
27.	What cost following	-	f any, as a resu	It of a tax officer's delay in handling any of the
Inspect		•	per/refinery	Cost in last accounting year, Tsh million
28.	How ofte	en, if at all, does a ta	x officer visit the	bonded warehouse for examination purposes?
	About	times	during the last a	ccounting year.

29. What costs, if any, did you incur in order to co-operate with the tax officer's r inspections?	andom
Type of cost Approximate cost per year (Tsh) Time to meet with tax officer Preparation of documents and accounts Miscellaneous	
30. In the space below, please make any comments you wish about your views on specific tax excises, etc.) in Tanzania, and any suggestions you wish to make about improving the current system.	
Thank you for your time and for your help with this research project.	
We would be happy to send you a copy of the report of this study. Would you like a copy?	
No / Yes, please send a copy of the report to:	